

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY NEA/IAI:MGANDERSON:LLC  
APPROVED BY NEA:NAVELIOTES  
NEA/IAI:WBSMITH  
EUR/WE - MR. DURKEE  
-----182247Z 121771 /72-62S

O 181820Z MAR 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 060529  
NODIS  
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US XF

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP: GENERAL TALKING  
POINTS  
REF: STATE 059830

1. EMBASSY IS BEING INSTRUCTED BY REFTEL TO BRIEF THE  
SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ON SECRETARY VANCE'S RECENT MIDDLE  
EAST TRIP. FOLLOWING MATERIAL IS TO BE USED.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- TRIP ACHIEVED THE LIMITED BUT IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES THE  
SECRETARY HAD SET FOR HIMSELF.

-- IT WAS AN EARLY DEMONSTRATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S AND HIS  
COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AREA TO MAKE  
PROGRESS THIS YEAR TOWARD MIDDLE EAST PEACE, AND OF THE  
HIGH PRIORITY THEY ATTACH TO THIS PROBLEM.

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-- IT WAS IN EFFECT THE FIRST STEP IN REVIVING THE PEACE-  
MAKING PROCESS.

-- IT PERMITTED EARLY CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS OF THE  
COUNTRIES WHICH ARE KEY TO THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS,

ESTABLISHING IMPORTANT PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CONFIDENCE

AT A HIGH LEVEL AND HELPING PREPARE THE WAY FOR THEIR MEETINGS OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

-- IT PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR IN DETAIL, DIRECTLY FROM THE PRINCIPAL DECISION MAKERS, THEIR VIEWS ON THE MAIN PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. THE INTIMATE, PERSONAL FORMAT OF THESE TALKS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO PROBE BEHIND STANDARD POSITIONS. THE SECRETARY WAS ABLE TO COVER SYSTEMATICALLY IN A BRIEF TIME THE SAME SET OF POINTS AT EACH STOP SO THAT SOME CONCRETE, ISSUE-BY-ISSUE COMPARISONS ARE POSSIBLE OF HOW EACH PARTY VIEWS AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT AND THE STEPS NECESSARY TO GET THERE.

-- MAIN CONCLUSIONS

-- WHILE ARAB AND ISRAELI CONCEPTS OF WHAT PEACE MEANS ARE FAR APART, THERE IS A CLEAR DETERMINATION TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT FOR PEACE. A STRONG MOTIVATING FACTOR IS THE CRUSHING BURDEN OF THEIR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS ON THEIR ECONOMIES, AND THE REALIZATION OF THE HUMAN AND MATERIAL COSTS OF ANOTHER WAR.

-- THERE IS A CONSENSUS THAT ALL CONCERNED SHOULD WORK TOWARD RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1977.

-- ALL CONCERNED WANT THE U.S. TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE AND RECOGNIZE THAT MUCH GROUNDWORK MUST BE PREPARED BEFORE GENEVA CAN RECONVENE WITH ANY PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS.  
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-- ALL CONCERNED ARE AGREED THAT, IF THE PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS CAN BE RESOLVED, THEY ARE PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA TO DISCUSS THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

-- THEY ALSO AGREE THAT THE PRINCIPAL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ARE THE NATURE OF PEACE, THE WITHDRAWAL/TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY QUESTION, AND A SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

-- THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS REMAINS THE PRINCIPAL PROCEDURAL ISSUE  
--THOUGH IT IS CLEARLY AN ISSUE WITH SUBSTANTIVE IMPLICATIONS--THAT MUST BE RESOLVED BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN.

-- WHAT HAPPENS NEXT

-- THE PRESIDENT WILL BE MEETING WITH THE LEADERS OF THE

CONFRONTATION STATES AND WITH CROWN PRINCE FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE MONTHS. WE SEE THESE MEETINGS AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CLARIFY FURTHER, INTER ALIA IN LIGHT OF WHAT MAY EMERGE FROM THE PRESENT INTERNAL ARAB DEBATE ON THE PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION ISSUE, HOW A GENEVA CONFERENCE CAN BE ORGANIZED AND TO DEFINE IN ADVANCE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE THE AREAS OF SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT. WE ALSO ENVISAGE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THESE MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION TO OUR EXCHANGES WITH THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, WE WILL BE CONSULTING WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES, AND WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ALL CONCERNED ARE LOOKING TO THE UNITED STATES AS THE FOCAL POINT OF EFFORTS TO RESUME AND MAKE PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO PLAY THIS KIND OF AN ACTIVE ROLE SO LONG AS THE PARTIES WISH US TO DO SO.  
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-- IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THIS PREPARATORY PERIOD WILL STIMULATE FRESH THINKING AMONG THE PARTIES ABOUT WAYS TO BRIDGE THE VERY SUBSTANTIAL GAPS WHICH EXIST ON THE KEY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. END TEXT.  
VANCE

NOTE BY OC/T: NODIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O MR. STEINER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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